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Message Text

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6296
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 USUN 3847

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, ID, PT
SUBJECT: 32ND UNGA - QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

REF: A. USUN 3568; B. USUN 3100; C. LISBON 7302;
D. USUN 2776 (NOTAL); E. USUN 5345 (76)(NOTAL); F. USUN
3241 (NOTAL); G. USUN 5034 (76)(NOTAL).

1. SUMMARY: FRETILIN SUPPORTERS PROCEEDING WITH STEPS TO
TABLE UNGA RESOLUTION QUITE SIMILAR TO AND ENDORSING LAST YEAR'S
ON "SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR". ITEM DUE TO COME UP IN COMMITTE
IV AT END OF OCTOBER OR EARLY NOVEMBER. JUDGING FROM GENERAL
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DEBATE STATEMENT, LAST YEAR'S LINES OF SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION TO
PRO-FRETILIN RSOLUTION APPEAR TO BE HOLDING QUITE STEADY. LAST
YEAR'S RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY FOLLOWING VOTE: IN FAVOR 68
(PORTUGAL; AGAINST 20 (US, INDONESIA); ABSTENTIONS 49.
INDONESIA IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO ANY UN DISCUSSION OF
TIMOR FOLLOWING TERRITORY'S EXERCISE OF SELF-
DETERMINATION" AND INCORPORATION INTO INDONESIA.

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PORTUGUESE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN "FORMAL" RESPONSIBILITY
FOR TERRITORY UNTIL "SELF-DETERMINATION" EXERCISED.
PROSPECTS FOR POSTPONING CONSIDERATION OF ITEM UNTIL NEXT
YEAR DO NOT APPEAR GOOD, BUT MIGHT RELATE TO POSSIBILITY OF
STARTING SOME DIALOGUE ON EAST TIMOR REGARDING AMNESTY AND
EVENTUAL NORMALIZATION. END SUMMARY.

2. THE "QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR" (UNGA AGENDA ITEM 93) IS
EXPECTED TO BE TAKEN UP IN COMMITTEE IV DURING THE PERIOD
OCTOBER 24 - NOVEMBER 8, MORE PROBABLY IN EARLY NOVEMBER
(REF A).

3. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE UNGA GENERAL DEBATE JUST
CONCLUDED, THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES SPOKE ON EAST TIMOR:
ANGOLA, BENIN, BURUNDI, CAPE VERDE, CHAD, DEMOCRATIC
KAMPUCHEA, GUINEA, GUINEA BISSAU, INDONESIA, MOZAMBIQUE,
PORTUGAL, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, AND VIETNAM. (VIETNAM
SPOKE ON THE OCCASION OF ITS ADMISSION TO THE UN, BUT DID
NOT MAKE GENERAL DEBATE ADDRESS.)

(A) PORTUGAL'S FOREIGN MINISTER FERREIRA STATED IN PART:
"IN THE FAR EAST MY COUNTRY STILL MAINTAINS
FORMAL RESPONSIBILITIES WITH RESPECT TO THE
TERRITORY OF EAST TIMOR. AS WE HAVE REPEATEDLY
STATED, PORTUGAL HAS NO CLAIMS OR INTERESTF
THERE OTHER THAN WISHING TO CONCLUDE,
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IN THE BEST POSSIBLE MANNER, THE PROCESS
OF DECOLONIZATION OF ALL THE NON-SELF-
GOVERNING TERRITORIES UNDER ITS ADMINISTRA-
TION. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED
ONLY BY RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF THE TIMORESE
PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE,
AS STATED IN RESOLUTION 1514 (XV), APPLICABLE
TO ALL PEOPLES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION. IN
THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT ARE KNOWN TO ALL, THIS
CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE THROUGH COMPLIANCE WITH
THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THIS MATTER.

"WITHIN ITS LIMITATIONS, MY GOVERNMENT IS
READY, AS IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN, TO GIVE THE UNITED
NATIONS ALL POSSIBLE CO-OPERATION IN THIS FIELD."

(B) INDONESIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK STATED IN PART:

"ON THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR, MY DELEGATION
HAS MADE ITS POSITION CLEAR ON A NUMBER OF
PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, MOST RECENTLY IN THE GENERAL

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COMMITTEE OF THIS ASSEMBLY ON 22SEPTEMBER 1977.

"THE PROBLEM OF EAST TIMOR HAS CEASED TO EXIST
AS A PROBLEM OF DECOLONIZATION. ITS PEOPLE,
IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-
DETERMINATION, HAVE MADE THEIR CHOICE TO BE
INDEPENDENT THROUGH INTEGRATION WITH
INDONESIA, AND THIS PROCESS WAS COMPLETED
ON 17 JULY 1976. AS A RESULT OF THESE
DEVELOPMENTS, EAST TIMOR AND THE EAST
TIMORESE HAVE BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF
THE INDONESIAN NATION. TOGETHER WITH THEIR
KINSMEN IN THE OTHER PROVINCES OF INDONESIA,
THEY HAVE NOW ENBARKED ON THE LONG AND
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DIFFICULT ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT. IN THE
MEANTIME, A GENERAL AMNESTY HAS BEEN OFFERED
TO THE FRETILIN REMNANTS WHO VOLUNTARILY
SURRENDER TO THE OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES NO
LATER THAN 31 DECEMBER 1977. QUITE A NUMBER
OF FORMER FRETILIN FOLLOWERS HAVE MADE USE OF
THIS AMNESTY AND HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR
VILLAGES. THEY ARE NOW PARTICIPATING IN THE
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR PROVINCE."

(C) ANGOLA, BENIN, BURUNDI, CAPE VERDE, CHAD,
DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA, GUINEA, GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE,
PORTUGAL, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, AND VIETNAM ALL SUPPORTED
FRETILIN GOALS.

(D) AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE GE ERAL DEBATE ON OCTOBER
13, INDONESIA'S PERMREP SANI, EXERCISING THE RIGHT OF REPLY
SAID IN PART:

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AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 5 USUN 3847

QUOTE

AT THE OUTSET I WISH TO APOLOGIZE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR ASKING TO BE ALLOWED TO ADDRESS THEM AT THIS LATE HOUR - A DECISION TAKEN BY MY DELEGATION ONLY AFTER CONSIDERABLE HESITATION. SOME SPEAKERS HAVE REFERRED TO EAST TIMOR IN THEIR STATEMENTS DURING THE GENERAL DEBATE AND, WHILE DOING SO, HAVE MADE CERTAIN FALSE AND MISLEADING ALLEGATIONS, REFLECTING THEIR LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE MATTER. MY DELEGATION THEREFORE CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT BY REITERATING THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF INDONESIA'S POSITION.

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INDONESIA'S ATTITUDE WITH REGARD TO THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS IN EAST TIMOR HAS BEEN GUIDED BY THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS: FIRST, INDONESIA HAS NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS ON EAST TIMOR OR ANY OTHER TERRITORY. SECONDLY, INDONESIA FULLY RESPECTS THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR. THIRDLY, THE PROCESS OF DECLONIZATION SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN A DEMOCRATIC AND ORDERLY MANNER. FOURTHLY, IF IT IS THE DECISION OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR TO BE INTEGRATED WITH INDONESIA AS THE RESULT OF THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, INDONESIA WILL ACCEPT THAT DECISION.

IN THE MEANTIME, SINCE LAST YEAR, THE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN EAST TIMOR:

THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN EAST TIMOR IN

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FULL CONFORMITY WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER AND THOSE OF
GENERAL ASSEMLBY RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) AND - LET US NOT FORGET
THIS - RESOLUTION 1541 (XV), THUS TERMINATING THE COLONIAL
STATUS OF THE FORMER PORTUGUESE TERRITORY. THE RIGHT TO SELF-
DETERMINATION WAS EXERCISED IN A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC MANNER BY
THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR THEMSELVES, CONSISTENT WITH THEIR
TRADITIONL PRACTICES.

ON 31 MAY 1976 THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR, THROUGH THE DULY ELECTED
MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY, DECIDED TO
BECOME INDEPENDENT THROUGH INTEGRATION WITH THE REPUBLIC OF
INDONESIA AND COMMUNICATED A REQUEST TO THAT END TO THE
INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE APPROPRIATE
LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES, EAST TIMOR WAS FORMALLY INTEGRATED INTO
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA ON 17 JULY 1976. THUS, THE
PROCESS OF DECLONIZATION WAS TERMINATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR. (AS EAST TIMOR HAS BECOME
INDEPENCDENT AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE RPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,
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INDONESIA OPPOSES ANY DISCUSSION OF EAST TIMOR IN WHATEVER
FORUM, SINCE THAT CONSTITUTES INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL
AFFAIRS.)

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT THE UNITED NATIONS WAS NOT INVOLVED IN THE
DECLONIZATION PROCESS IN EAST TIMOR AND THAT THEREFORE THE
VALIDITY OF THE ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION BY THE PEOPLE OF EAST
TIMOR SHOULD BE CONTESTED. IF THE UNITED NATIONS WAS NOT
INVOLVED, THAT CERTAINLY CANNOT BE BLAMED ON THE PEOPLE OF EAST
TIMOR. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR HAVE
TRIED TO INVOLVE THE UNITED NATIONS IN EVERY STAGE OF THE
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TERRITORY. IN FACT, AFTER THE ADMINISTERING
POWER ABANDONED EAST TIMOR, AS EARLY AS 17 SEPTEMBER 1975 - I
REPEAT: 17 SEPTEMBER 1975 - THREE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE
TERRITORY SENT CABLEGRAMS TO THE UNITED NATIONS, THE
PRESIDENT OF PORTUGAL, THE PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA AND THE
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT, INFORMING THEM OF THE MURDERS AND SYSTEMATIC
TERROR EMPLOYED BY THE FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIA DE TIMOR LESTE
INDEPENDENTE (FRETILIN) TO ELIMINATE THEIR OPPONENTS.
HOWEVER, NO ACTION WAS FORTHCOMING EITHER FROM THE APPROPRIATE
ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR FROM THE ADMINISTERING POWER.

ON 12 FEBRUARY 1976 THE HEAD OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF
EAST TIMOR, IN A CABLE GRAM ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL,
STATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S READINESS TO RECEIVE A SECOND VISIT OF
THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. AGAIN
NO ACTION FOLLOWED.

IN HIS STATEMENT BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 12 APRIL 1976,
A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF EAST TIMOR

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AGAIN INVITED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE
COMMITTEE OF 24 TO SEND A MISSION TO THE TERRITORY. BUT
ONCE AGAIN NO INITIATIVE WAS TAKEN BY THE RELEVANT
ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RESPONSE TO THAT INVITATION.

IN THIS CONNEXION I SHOULD LIKE TO CALL ATTENTION TO A
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STATEMENT MADE BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF INDONESIA BEFORE THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ON 14 APRIL 1976, IN WHICH HE REFERRED TO
THAT INVITATION AND SAID:

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 USUN 3847

"TO ACCEPT THAT INVITATION, EITHER BY REQUESTING THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL TO HAVE HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE VISIT EAST TIMOR

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AGAIN OR BY SENDING A UNITED NATIONS MISSION - WHICHEVER THE COUNCIL MAY PREFER - WOULD BE THE EASIEST WAY TO FIND OUT WHETHER THE CLAIMS AND ACCUSATIONS MADE BY FRETILIN ARE BASED UPON FACTS OR WHETHER THEY ARE ALL LIES FABRICATED BY A HANDFUL OF SELF-STYLED LEADERS WHO LEFT EAST TIMOR AFTER THEY HAD UNLEASHED THE TRAGIC FIGHTING IN THE TERRITORY AND WHO HAVE SINCE LOST CONTACT WITH THE PROPLE AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST TIMOR. A VISIT BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OR BY A UNITED NATIONS MISSION WOULD PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF THE REAL SITUATION IN THE
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TERRITORY AND OF THE WISHES OF ITS PEOPLE." (S/PV.1909, P.13)

I THINK IT CANNOT BE EXPRESSED IN CLEARER LANGUAGE THAT INDONESIA AT THAT TIME STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE SENDING OF A UNITED NATIONS MISSION TO EAST TIMOR AND INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION IN THAT TERRITORY.

ON 24 MAY 1976 THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF EAST TIMOR ONCE AGAIN INVITED THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF 24 TO DISPATCH A MISSION TO EAST TIMOR TO ATTEND THE FIRST MEETING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY. FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER THE INVITATION WAS NOT ACCEPTED.

ON 10 JUNE 1976 INDONESIA INVITED THE COMMITTEE OF 24, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO VISIT EAST TIMOR, CONCURRENTLY WITH THE VISIT OF A FACT-FINDING MISSION SENT BY THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT. AGAIN THE RESPONSE WAS NEGATIVE.

THOSE EFFORTS MADE BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF EAST TIMOR TO INVOLVE THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS ARE ALL SUBSTANTIATED BY THE RELEVANT DOCUMENTS. THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR GOODWILL AND GOOD FAITH AND IF THERE ARE STILL COUNTRIES THAT CLAIM THAT
NO UNITED NATIONS ORGAN HAS BEEN INVOLVED AND THAT THEREFORE THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION IS NOT VALID, CLEARLY THE BLAME CANNOT BE PUT ON THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR OR ON INDONESIA.

THE PROBLEM OF EAST TIMOR HAS CEASED TO EXIST AS A PROBLEM OF DECOLONIZATION. THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN THE LONG AND DIFFICULT TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT. IT SHOULD FURTHER BE NOTED THAT THOSE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN UNDER A LEADERSHIP COMPRISED OF NATIVE
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EAST TIMORESE AND THAT UNDER THAT INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP
SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN HEALING THE
WOUNDS AND ERADICATING THE SCARS CAUSED BY THE RECENT TURMOIL.
IT IS MY DELEGATION'S SINCERE EXPECTATION THAT THE PEOPLE OF
EAST TIMOR WILL BE LEFT ALONE AND BE ALLOWED TO DEVELOP
THEMSELVES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS AS PART OF THE INDONESIAN
NATION. UNQUOTE

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4. SINCE HIS RETURN TO NEW YORK IN LATE SEPTEMBER FROM
MAPUTO AND LISBON (REFS B AND C) FRETILIN FIGURE JOSE
RAMOS HORTA HAS BEEN ACTIVE AT UN HEADQUARTERS. IN SIGNING
COMMUNICATIONS ON BEHALF OF FRETILIN LATER CIRCULATED AS
UN DOCUMENTS, HORTA HAS DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS "MEMBER OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF FRETILIN AND AMBASSADOR". A LETTER
DATED SEPTEMBER 29, 1977, FROM HORTA TO UN SECRETARY
GENERAL WALDHEIM, WAS CIRCULATED AS UN SECURITY COUNCIL
DOCUMENT S/12408, 30 SEPTEMBER, 1977, AT THE REQUEST OF

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MOZAMBIQUE'S PERMREP LOBO. THIS LETTER DESCRIBED: (A)
ONGOING HOSTILITIES IN EAST TIMOR; (B) EENLARGEMENT OF THE
FRETILIN CENTRAL COMMITEE FROM 45 TO 67 MEMBER, "64 OF WHOM
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ARE INSIDE THE COUNTRY AND ONLY THREE REMAIN ABROAD"; THE
APPOINTMENT BY THE STANDING POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF A NEW
PRESIDENT OF FRETILIN AND OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
EAST TIMOR (DRET), NICOLAU DOS REIS LOBATO; (C) LOBATO'S
REJECTION OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S OFFER OF AMNESTY;AND (D)
APPOINTMENT OF MR. MARI BIN HAMUD ALKATIRY AS MINISTER OF
EXTERNAL RELATIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DRET. IN
ANOTHER LETTER, DATED 26 SEPTEMBER 1977, AND CIRCULATED AS
UN DOCUMENT A/C.4/32/5, 5 OCTOBER 1977, HORTA REQUESTED A
HEARING FOR FRETILIN'S DELEGATION DURING UNGA'S CONSIDERATION
OF "QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR". HORTA LISTED DELEGATION AS
INCLUDING ALKATIRY, HORTA, AND LEONEL SALES DE ANDRADE, COUNSELOR.

5. HORTA ALSO HAS BEEN CIRCULATING TEXTS OF WORKING
PAPERS FOR A DRAFT RESOLUTION OF EAST TIMOR. HORTA
MENTIONED IN THIS CONNECTION TO USUN OFFICER THAT, SINCE
NEITHER US NOR AUSTRALIA COULD SPONSOR DRAFT RESOLUTION
HE HAD DRAWN UP IN AUGUST (REF D), THERE WAS NO VALUE IN
PURSUING A TEXT ALONG THOSE LINES WHICH MIGHT LOSE
SUPPORT OF COUNTRIES SUCH AS CHINA DESIREING HARDER RESOLUTION.
HORTA FORESAW INSTEAD A TEXT VERY SIMILAR TO THAT ADOPTED BY UNGA
IN 1976 (RESOLUTION 31/53)(REF E). A RECENT VERSION OF
THE CURRENT DRAFT BEING CIRCULATED BY HORTA IS IN FINAL PARA
BELOW. WHILE THE WORDING OF DRAFT OMITS LANGUAGE SUCH AS
"STRONGLY DEPLORES" WHICH APPEARED IN RESOLUTION 31/53, THE
1977 DRAFT "REAFFIRMS" RESOLUTION 31/53. ON THE WHOLE, THE
DRAFT IS VERY SIMILAR TO RESOLUTION 31/53 ON WHICH THE VOTE
IN PLENARY WAS IN FAVOR: 68 (PORTUGAL); 20 AGAINST (US,
INDONESIA); ABSTENTIONS 49 (REF G).

6. HORTA REPORTEDLY IS STATING THAT CURRENT DRAFT NOW HAS
"APPROXIMATELY 20 COSPONSORS". THIS WOULD SEEM PLAUSIBLE
SINCE RESOLUTION 31/53, AS ADOPTED IN COMMITTEE IV, HAD AS
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COSPONSORS ALGERIA, BENIN, CONGO, CUBA, DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA,
GUINEA, GUINEA BISSAU, MALI, MOZAMBIQUE AND TANZANIA. FURTHER-
MORE, IN ADDITION TO SOME OF LAST YEAR'S COSPONSORS, ANGOLA,
BURUNDI, CAPE VERDE, CHAD, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, AND VIETNAM
ALL SPOKE IN UNGA GENERAL DEBATE THIS YEAR IN SUPPORT OF
FRETILIN'S GOALS.

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7. VOTING POSITIONS ON EAST TIMOR AMONGST INDONESIA'S
FELLOW ASEAN'S ARE EXPECTED TO DUPLICATE THOSE IN 1976:
MALAYSIA, PHILIPPINES, AND THAILAND WILL SUPPORT INDONESIA,
WHILE SINGAPORE WILL ABSTAIN. OF OTHERS IN THE ASEAN-
PACIFIC CONSULTATIVE GROUP, JAPAN EXPECTS AGAIN TO SUPPORT
INDONESIA, WHILE AUSTRALIA, FIJI, NEW ZEALAND, AND PAPUA
NEW GUINEA AGAIN WILL ABSTAIN. JUDGING FROM LACK OF
ATTENTION TO EAST TIMOR IN THEIR GENERAL DEBATE
ADDRESSES, IT WOUL SEEM LIKELY THAT MANY MEMBERS OF THE
ISLAMIC GROUP WILL CONTINUE EITHER TO SUPPORT INDONESIA
OR ABSTAIN IN 1977 VOTES.

8. INDONESIA' AMB'S SANI AND MARPUANG, COMMENT THAT JAKARTA
CONSIDERS THE TIMOR QUESTION "SHUT". AS A RESULT THEY CONTINUE
TO INDICATE THAT THEY ARE EXPECTED TO RIDE OUT THE STROM AS BEST
FEASIBLE IN NEW YORK. MARPUANG HAS EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT THE
US DID NOT OPPOSE THIS YEAR'S INSCRIPTION OF THE TIMOR
ITEM IN GENERAL COMMITTEE (REF F). INDONESIAN MISOFFS HAVE ASKED
US WHAT WE WOULD HAVE DONE HAD AN ITEM ON PUERTO RICO BEEN
PROPOSED FOR INSCRIPTION. WE HAVE REPLIED THAT WE WOULD HAVE
OPPOSED INSCRIPTION OF A PUERTO RICAN ITEM, SINCE THE UNGA
DECIDED IN 1953 TO REMOVE PUERTO RICO FROM THE LIST OF
NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES. WE HAVE ADDED THAT,
FUNDAMENTALLY, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLE OF
LIBERAL INSCRIPTION. THE QUESIT REMAINS, IN THE MEATIHE, HOW
STERILE, CONFRONTATIONAL DEBATE ON TIMOR MAY BE AVERTED
UNTIL TIMOR QUESTION RESOLVED IN CONTEXT OF UN DEBATE. NORWAY'S
DEPUTY PERMREP VRAALSEN (AN EXPERT ON DECOLONIZATION WORK AT THE
UN) HAS TOLD SANI THAT ONLY BY PASSAGE OF TIME WILL INDONESIA
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SUCCEED IN REMOVING EAST TIMOR FROM THE LIST OF ITEMS SUBJECT
TO DEBATE EACH YEAR. VRAALSEN SPECULATED THAT THIS MIGHT
TAKE FIVE OR SIX YEARS.

9. AS TO SLIM POSSIBILITIES FOR POSTPONING DEBATE, IT
CONTINUES TO OCCUR TO US THAT STEPS TOWARD ENCOURAGEMENT
OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PARTIES ENGAGED IN EAST TIMOR COULD
CONTRIBUTE TO A SOLUTION. IN THIS CONNECTION, MALIK'S
REFERENCE TO A DECEMBER 31, 1977 CUT OFF DATE ON AMNESTY
OFFER MIGHT PROVIDE PEG FROM WHICH TO START. HORTA LAST
SUMMER GAVE THE INDONESIAN MISSION A LIST OF FRETILIN
PRISONERS HELD IN DILI WHOM FRETILIN WANTED RELEASED AS
EVIDENCE OF GOOD FAITH IN RELATION TO AMNESTY PROPOSAL. THE
INDONESIANS HERE CONFIRM HORTA'S CLAIM THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO
ACTION IN INDONESIA ON HORTA'S REQUEST. HORTA, DESPITE LOBATO'S
REJECTION OF THE AMNESTY PROPOSAL, AS REPORTD IN HORTA'S LETTER
OF SEPTEMBER 29,

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 /102 W
----------072503 180334Z /20
O R 172331Z OCT 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6300
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

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INDICATED T US ON A DATE SUBSEQUENT TO THAT OF THE LETTER
THAT, WERE THERE TO BE "MANIFESTATIONS" OF GOOD FAITH IN
CONNECTION WITH AMNESTY OFFER THIS COULD HELP NORMALIZATION.
HORTA, WHO HAS TOLD US THAT THERE ARE "FOUR OR FIVE" COMMUNISTS
ON FRETILIN'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS NOTED TO US, HOWEVER, THAT
HE HAS NOT BEEN IN EAST TIMOR IN RECENT YEARS TO OBSERVE THE
SITUATION FIRSTHAND. ACCORDING TO THE INDONESIANS HERE,
HORTA HAS SOME CLOSE RELATIVES IN EAST TIMOR WHO SUPPORT
INDONESIA. THE INDONESIANS ARE UNCERTAIN, THOUGH, REGARDING
THE DEGREE OF AUTHORITY HORTA NOW ENJOYS WITH FRETILIN
FOLLOWING HIS RECENT SHIFT FROM FOREIGN MINISTER TO AMB
(REF C). THEY ARE UNCERTAIN TOO AS TO DEGREE MOZAMBICANS
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AND GUINEA BISSAUANS ARE INFLUENCING HORTA'S ACTONS. ORTA
USES MOZAMBIQUE'S MISSION AS HIS HEADQUARTERS. ADDITIONALLY, THE
INDONESIANS HERE UNDERSTAND ALSO FROM SOURCES IN EAST TIMOR
THAT DEPOSED FRETILIN PRESIDENT AMORAL HAS BEEN EXECUTED BY
FRETILIN HARD-LINERS FOR FEAR THAT AMORAL MIGHT SEEK TO
NEGOTIATE WITH INDONESIAN REPRESENTATIVES.

10. BELIEVE WASHINGTON'S AND JAKARTA'S VIEWS REGARDING
IMPLEMENTATIN OF AMNESTY AS IT MIGHT RELATE TO ENCOURAGEMENT
OF DIALOGUE IN EAST TIMOR, POSTPONEMENT OF DEBATE HERE, AND
EVENTUAL NORMALIZATION IN EAST TIMOR COULD BE USEFUL. OUR
SOUNDINGS HERE INDICATE WEOG AND OTHER SUPPORT FOR STEPS
CONDUCIVE TO RESTORATION OF NORMAL CONDITIONS IN EAST TIMOR
RATHER THAN CONFRONTATIONAL UNPRODUCTIVE DEBATE. GIVEN
INDONESIAN EMPHASIS THAT EAST TIMORESE HANDLING EAST TIMOR'S
ADMINISTRATION, WHAT DEGREE OF AUTONOMY MIGHT BE POSSIBLE
EVENTUALLY FOR EAST TIMOR WITHIN INDONESIA?

11. TEXT OF PRO-FRETILIN WORKING PAPER FOR DRAFT RESOLUTION
FOLLOWS: QUOTE

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

RECOGNIZING THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-
DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES
OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES, CONT-
AINED IN ITS RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) OF 14 DECMEBER 1960,

HAVING EXAMINED THE CHAPTER OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL
COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL
COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES RELATING TO THE TERRITORY,

HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENTS BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF PORTUGAL
AND INDONESIA,

HAVING ALSO HEARD THE STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIA DE TIMOR LESTE INDEPENDENTE (FRETILIN),

MINDFUL THAT ALL STATES SHOULD, IN CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 2,
PARAGRAPH 4, OF THE CHARTER, REFRAIN IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY OR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE, OR IN ANY
OTHER MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

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DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE CONTINUING CRITICAL SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY, RESULTING FROM THE PERSISTENT REFUSAL ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA TO COMPLY WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 3485 (XXX) OF 12 DECEMBER 1975 AND 31/53 OF 1 DECEMBER 1976, AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 384 (1975) OF 22 DECEMBER 1975 AND 389 (1976) OF 22 APRIL 1976,

1. REAFFIRMS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THEIR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE THAT RIGHT;

2. REAFFIRMS ITS RESOLUTIONS 3485 (XXX) AND 31/53 AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 384 (1975) AND 389 (1976);

3. REJECTS THE CLAIM THAT EAST TIMOR HAS BEEN INTEGRATED INTO INDONESIA INASMUCH AS THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO EXERCISE FREELY THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE;

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4. REQUESTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES TO KEEP THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION, TO FOLLOW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION, TO DISPATCH TO THE TERRITORY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A VISITING MISSION WITH A VIEW TO THE FULL AND SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES AND TO REPORT BACK TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-THIRD SESSION;

5. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL, IN THE MEANTIME, TO SEND URGENTLY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO EAST TIMOR FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING A THOROUGH ON THE SPOT ASSESSMENT OF THE EXISTING SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY AND OF ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FREENTE REVOLUCIOARIA DE TIMOR LESTE INDEPENDENTE (FERTILIN) AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER STATES CONCERNED IN ORDER TO PREPARE THE GROUNDS FOR A VISITING MISSION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO TAKE PLACE, AND TO REPORT BACK TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE;

6. DRAWS THE ATTENTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 11, PARAGRAPH 3, OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY OF EAST TIMOR AND RECOMMENDS THAT IT TAKE ALL EFFECTIVE STEPS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESOLUTIONS 384(1975) AND 389 (1976) WITH A

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VIEW TO SECURING THE FULL EXERCISE BY THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR
OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE;

7. DECIDES TO INCLUDE IN THE AGENDA OF ITS THIRTY-THIRD
SESSION AN ITEM ENTITLED "QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR".

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Message Attributes

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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Review Release Event: n/a
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SAS ID: 887175
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 32ND UNGA - QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, PGOV, ID, PT, UNGA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0530ac2d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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